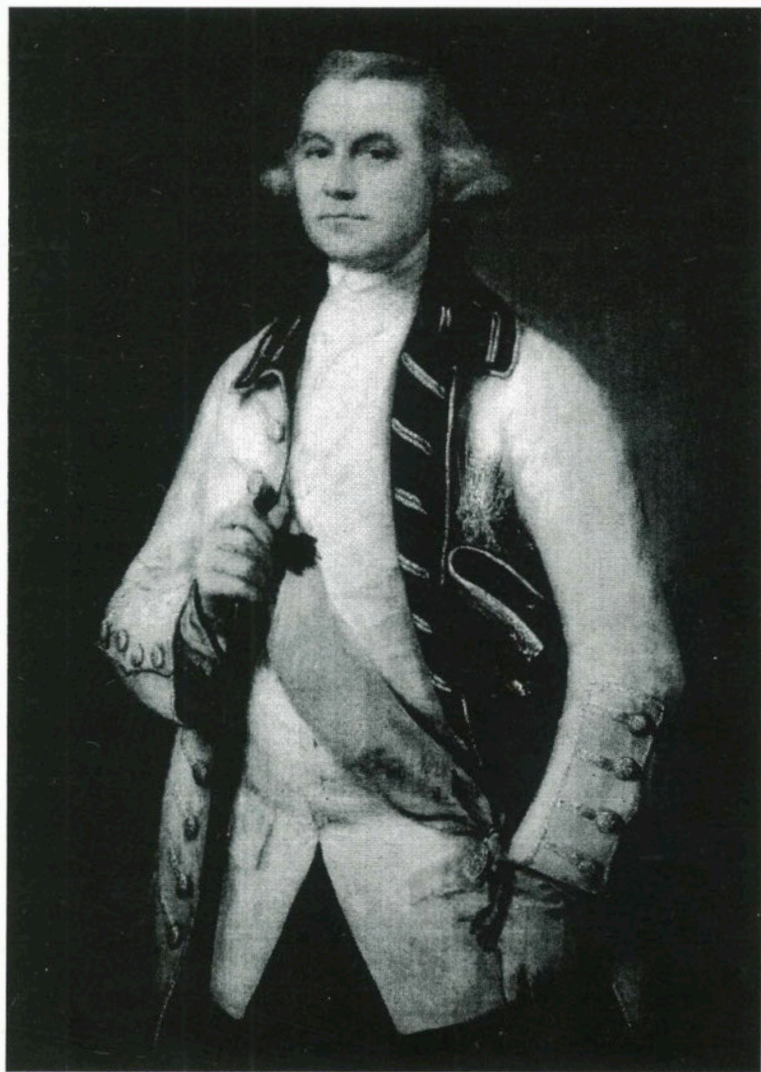


BRISTOL'S FORGOTTEN VICTOR
Lieutenant-General Sir William Draper K.B.
(1721-1787)



JAMES DREAPER

THE BRISTOL BRANCH OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION LOCAL HISTORY PAMPHLETS

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Bristol's Forgotten Victor is the ninety-fourth pamphlet in the series of Bristol Local History pamphlets published by the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association.

The author, James Dreaper, has extracted the material from the text of his forthcoming full-length biography of Sir William Draper, the first to be written on Sir William's life, under the title *Networks of Hazard*. It explores Sir William's life and achievements within the context of a society which not only presented surprising opportunities for advancement to military men of talent, but allowed them a freedom from constraints which had largely disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century.

James Dreaper, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, has spent a considerable part of his working life abroad and took part in a yacht race from Hong Kong to Manila in 1966 which took him across the great Bay of Manila, tracing the same course his remote ancestor had taken in 1762.

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Cover Illustration: Portrait of Sir William Draper, K.B., by Thomas Gainsborough. The portrait was painted in the late 1760s and now hangs in the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Courtesy of The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Miss Else Schilling, 60.29

BRISTOL'S FORGOTTEN VICTOR

Lieutenant-General Sir William Draper K.B.

(1721-1787)

On Clifton Down above Bristol, in an area of green near Christ Church now dissected by roads and roundabouts, still stand two monuments, an obelisk and a cenotaph. In their isolation, lacking the bombastic surrounds of public statuary, they seem to embody the expression of some private and distant tribute. Both monuments were, and remain, gestures of loyalty from the man who originally commissioned them, Lieutenant-General Sir William Draper. They, and the nearby sign marking Manilla Road, are the residual ghosts of a man, and of events, which in their time commanded the attention of the whole of the nation.

The obelisk, dedicated to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and the cenotaph dedicated to the 79th Regiment of Foot, Draper's Regiment, had been created for the garden of Sir William's house, Manilla Hall, which he had built on Clifton Down following his return from successful command of the expedition which captured Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands, from Spain in 1762, towards the end of the Seven Years War. The conquest remains the most easterly battle ever fought by a British expedition

The monuments were never intended for public viewing. They were appropriate in size only for the garden of the private house for which they were designed. Their presence in Clifton was itself an expression of loyalty to the city in which Sir William had been born in 1721.

The general's loyalty to William Pitt, and to his disbanded regiment, both crucially linked to his own achievements, was entirely understandable. His loyalty to Bristol was less clearly focused, and sprang more from his immediate family links than from deeper roots.

His family's presence in Bristol was a typical result of the incessant need in the eighteenth century for the younger sons of minor gentry to

search for patronage and place. His young father, Ingleby Draper, had been found a place in the Customs and Excise in Bristol through the influence of his own father and had come to live in Bristol only a few years before his son, the future general, was born there in 1721, in the parish of St Augustine-the-Less.

The family from which Ingleby Draper descended had been based for many years in the Oxfordshire village of Nether Worton. Ingleby's own father, William, had married in 1694 Anne Daniell the sole surviving child and heiress of Ingleby Daniell of Beswick in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Her estates were the platform on which William Draper, the general's grandfather, earned his reputation as Squire Draper, one of the greatest of early Masters of Hounds.¹

It would be easy to caricature Squire Draper, who survived until 1745, as being cast in the same mould as Fielding's Squire Weston. But he never lost sight of the need to provide opportunities for the seven of his eight sons who were not in line to inherit the Beswick or Nether Worton estates. In keeping with the accepted pattern of their time they were found places in the Navy, the Army, the Church, and where possible among the fortunate few in the jostling crowd of place seekers on the government's haphazard payroll.

One of the Squire's younger sons, William Henry, also joined that growing source of opportunity for the landless sons of the gentry, the Honourable East India Company, creating for the family a connection which was to last well into the nineteenth century.

The Squire's second son, Ingleby, named after his maternal grandfather, was found a 'place' in Customs and Excise. He was first appointed as 'King's Waiter in Bristol Port' in October 1715, when he would have been no more than eighteen. 'King's Waiter' was a quaint title for a post which in modern terms would be simply junior manager, but it gave him a tiny income and, more important, a clear line of opportunity.²

Bristol was then the second largest city in England, its port at the height of its commercial importance in the life of the nation. At the time when Ingleby Draper took up his first duties, the population of the city had risen to 80,000, mostly clustered around the port and its enormously long quays. Contemporary prints, especially those depicting the view over the city from the heights of rustic Clifton, convey an astonishing spectacle of a city threaded together by the masts and spars of the ships moored along the arms of the Avon and Frome. The volume of tonnage passing through Bristol every year gave the city a political importance which commanded the attention of Westminster and the King's Government, ensuring that the city's voice in national affairs was accorded the weight it deserved.

The Customs House, befitting its stature in the life of the city, was one of the most prominent buildings in the newly-built Queen's Square, described by an admiring contemporary as 'a very noble square as large as that of Soho in London ... and most of the eminent merchants who keep coaches reside there'.

Bristol was thus a place of great opportunity for a young man of promise, as long as he survived. Unfortunately for his wife and four surviving children, Ingleby Draper did not live long enough to make any lasting mark. He died suddenly in 1721, aged only 25, a month or two before the birth of his younger son, the future general. He was buried in the churchyard of St Augustine-the-Less, alongside Bristol Cathedral.³ He thus left a widow, Mary, still in her twenties, with two sons and two daughters, all below the age of eight. His untimely departure threw her immediately into the unenviable position of having to depend for support either on her own or her late husband's families.

She was the daughter of an Alexander Harrison, probably from Leeds, and it says much for her Yorkshire resilience that she was able to bring all four of her children to maturity in defiance of such a devastating loss at so early an age. Somehow she was able to keep afloat through the support of her extended family, since she never married again and yet lived long enough, always in Bristol, to enjoy some of the fruits of her son William's triumphs at Manila some forty years later.

William was found a place at the Cathedral School which then fulfilled the double role of providing the Cathedral with choristers and offering opportunity for its other pupils in line with Archbishop Cranmer's dictum of two centuries earlier that 'if the gentleman's son be apt for learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt enter in his room'. The school provided the basics of a classical education under the guidance of the Rev. George Bryan, headmaster from 1709 to 1743, a length of service which says as much for his powers of endurance as for the undemanding pressures of the time.⁴

During the years when the young schoolboy was absorbing this classical grounding his mother was coping with the problems of arranging for the futures of her older children. In 1729, when William was about eight, Mary Draper was recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company as 'praying leave to send her daughter Anna, together with a maid servant, to take care of her uncle Mr William Henry Draper at Bombay.'⁵ Permission was granted and Anna, then aged about thirteen, would have departed on one of the Company's East Indiamen, even at that age considered mature enough to undergo the hazards of the long voyage to India under the watchful eye of the ship's master.

The family connection with the East India Company was again used a year or two later to obtain a position for William's elder brother, named after his father Ingleby, who joined the Company's Maritime Service. His career did not last long enough to provide anything other than a distant sorrow for his family, as he was drowned at sea off Canton, on the coast of China, aged only 21, when serving on one of the Company's ships, the *Cowan*, in 1735. In the Bombay Mayor's court in 1736, administration of his effects was granted to Thomas Moore, a surgeon in the Company's service '... one of his creditors ... whereas the said Ingleby Draper died some time ago in Canton in the Empire of China ... intestate as well as insolvent ...'⁶

The only consolation to the widowed mother for the loss of her elder son was that by then Thomas Moore, the Company surgeon, had become her son-in-law, having married the young Anna two years after her arrival in Bombay.⁷ Moore, with his wife and three surviving children, returned to Bristol from India a few years later, he to establish himself as a prosperous apothecary.

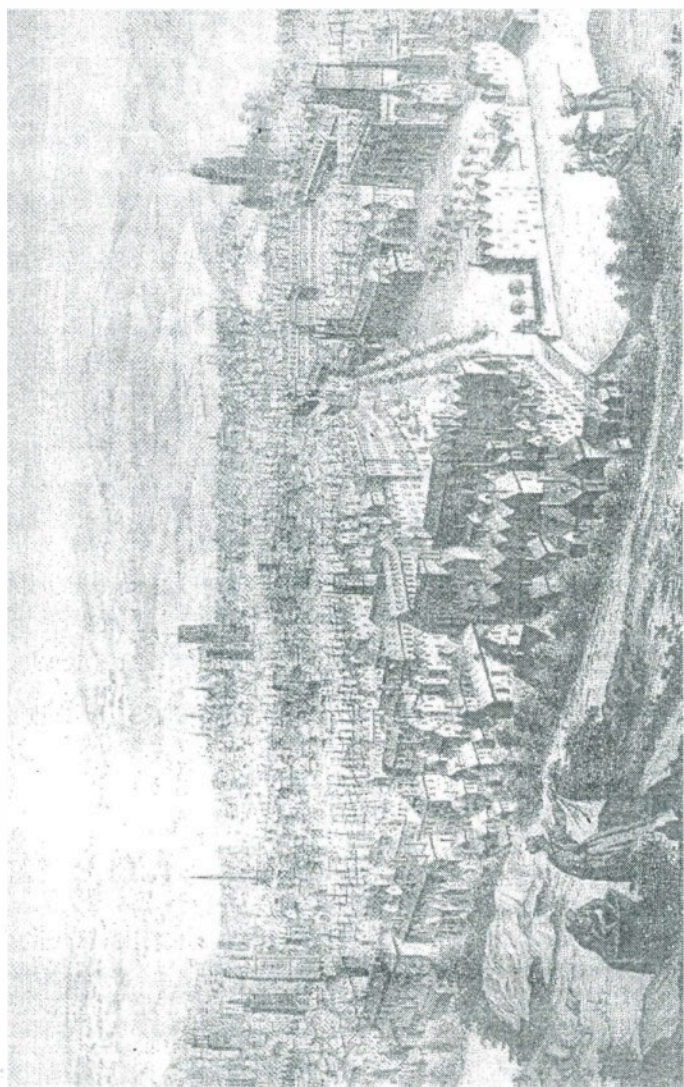
By then Mary Draper would have been enjoying the early promise shown by her younger and sole surviving son, William. From the Cathedral School he was accepted by Eton in 1733 'on the Foundation', that is as a King's Scholar, or Colleger.

Eton during that period mirrored the indiscipline and violence of the society whose future leaders it was producing. Though it may have turned out gentlemen it was no place for the gentle. Yet Eton's magic powers of refinement somehow managed to transcend the brutality of its system and traditions. The assumed right to leadership may have produced intolerable arrogance but it was equally often justified by subsequent achievement.

William Draper absorbed the essential classics, the core of Etonian education, as well as showing an aptitude and love for cricket, real-tennis and field sports. From his time at Eton he also counted his lifelong friendship with Christopher Anstey who went on to become celebrated as a minor poet and author of the *New Bath Guide* which made him a literary celebrity in the 1760s

Both of them achieved scholarships from Eton to King's College Cambridge, William Draper in 1740 when he went up to King's at the comparatively late age of eighteen.⁸

At that age many of his contemporaries would already have gained military experience, especially at a time when the long years of peace under Sir Robert Walpole's successive ministries had finally been shattered by the outbreak of the War of Jenkin's Ear between England and Spain, a conflict which was so soon to be absorbed by the wider conflict of the War of the Austrian Succession.



North West Prospect of Bristol in 1734 by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck

As a boy growing up in Bristol and at Eton, Draper would have been well aware of the clamour which had been mounting for more than a decade against the 'depredations' inflicted on British shipping in various waters by the Spaniards, particularly in the Caribbean seas where Bristol merchants had so many traditional and profitable links.

This process of attrition continued throughout the 1720s and '30s, with each of the nations allowing their merchants and mariners to act as surrogates for their national trading interests. The merchants in turn came increasingly to feel that they were bearing the brunt of the action; the merchants of Bristol, for example, forwarding to Westminster in 1731 a number of petitions complaining of the 'harassing interruptions to trade, and the heavy losses to which they were subjected.'

The trigger for the war with Spain was a belated furore which followed the seizure by Spanish *guardacostas* off Cuba of a British privateer, the *Rebecca*. Its captain, Robert Jenkins, had an ear cut off in the action, the Spanish telling him to take it home and present it to his King. Jenkins, never one to miss an opportunity for self-dramatisation, bottled his ear and displayed it some years later before a Committee of the House of Commons declaring that he recommended 'my soul to God and my cause to my country.' The jingoism captured the public imagination of a nation tired of peace, and war on Spain was declared in October 1739.

The excitement of war, and the domestic political turmoil which followed its outbreak, dominated the national scene throughout the time that Draper was at King's. The pace of events as the war progressed must have seemed more compellingly interesting to any lively undergraduate than the pattern of life in a Cambridge college during those years.

France was formally drawn into the widening war in 1744. The War of the Austrian Succession was yet another of those intermittent struggles during the eighteenth century when political and dynastic complexities masked the underlying simplicity that Britain and France were vying simultaneously for supremacy in Europe through shifting alliances, while laying the foundations of overseas expansion. The territorial ambitions of other European powers, including Spain, Portugal, Austria, the Netherlands, and the major German states, resulted in constant international tensions.

As the national mood was still in favour of war, the army was beginning to expand to meet its greater commitments. It was not surprising that Draper, having gained his degree at Cambridge, would opt to lay aside the prospect of further studies in favour of the chance of joining a suitable regiment. One of his uncles, Edward Draper, had been

killed the previous year at the battle of Dettingen; another, Charles, was serving in Lord Charles Churchill's Regiment of Dragoons; while a third, John, a Royal Navy Captain, had died on service a year or two earlier. There were sufficient service connections to influence him towards the career he was to follow for the rest of his life. He sought, and received, a commission as an Ensign in Lord Henry Beauclerk's Regiment, the 48th Regiment of Foot, in March 1744.⁹

The 48th distinguished itself at the Battle of Falkirk in January 1746 against the Young Pretender's forces, and was also present at the Battle of Culloden in April. Within a month of Culloden, William Draper was transferred from the 48th Foot to be adjutant of the 2nd Battalion of the First Foot Guards (the eventual Grenadier Guards). The Colonel of the Regiment was William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, King George II's favourite son. Transfer to this elite regiment represented a singular mark of approval from the Duke, who was also Captain-General.¹⁰

The 1st Foot Guards fought in the Flanders campaign of 1747 and were present at the great battle of Laffeldt. During the winding-down of the war before the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 Draper returned to King's where he took his M.A. in 1749 and was elected to a Fellowship.

The peace after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was acknowledged as more of a breathing-space than a true settlement. The years which followed before the outbreak of the next war in 1756, the Seven Years War, were a phoney peace, and for a young officer there was still the prospect of active service. Draper chose to continue his military career in preference to an academic one, whilst enjoying the pleasures of a Guards officer's life. During that time, like many other British officers, he was a frequent visitor to France, and seems to have scored some success at Versailles where he was referred to by King Louis XV as 'le beau garçon anglais'.¹¹ He was also a skilled real-tennis player as well as a cricketer. In 1751 he made the highest batting score in the first three-day series of cricket matches, between an Eton side and the Rest of England.¹²

In February 1756 he married the Hon. Caroline Beauclerk, younger daughter of Lord William Beauclerk, and niece of his old Colonel, Lord Henry Beauclerk. Caroline was the great-granddaughter of King Charles II and Nell Gwynn; though Draper's marriage into a family with royal connections brought more social kudos than financial benefit and seems to have been characterised by great mutual affection.¹³

The outbreak of the Seven Years War brought fresh opportunities for command as William Pitt the Elder became Britain's effective war leader. In 1757 Draper, still a captain in the 1st Guards, and almost belatedly in his career, was commissioned as a Lieutenant-Colonel

commandant to raise a regiment of Foot, 1000 strong, for service in the East Indies. Draper's Regiment took rank as the 79th Foot¹⁴ and arrived in Madras in September 1758, just in time to play a crucial role in resisting the siege of the French forces under the command of Comte Lally-Tollendall. Early in the siege Draper led a sally from Fort St George which, despite his conspicuous personal bravery, was unable to achieve any decisive result.

The French siege collapsed after three months, and in its aftermath Draper was offered command of the British forces on the Coromandel coast, the Eastern seaboard of India. He declined the offer, pleading ill-health, and returned to England on the East Indiaman *Winchelsea*, via a voyage to the China coast. In the early weeks of this stage of the voyage one of his fellow passengers was the remarkable young Alexander Dalrymple, dispatched on a secret voyage around the Philippines by the Governor of Madras. The genesis of the expedition against Manila which brought Draper fame three years later seemingly arose from conversations between Dalrymple and Draper.

Following his return to England when it appeared that Spain might be entering the war in support of France, Draper submitted a plan setting out the options for a pre-emptive strike against the Spanish base at Manila, key to Spain's power in the Pacific. The plan gained the support of Lord Anson, First Lord of the Admiralty, who had risen to fame on his circumnavigation, and seizure of the Manila galleon, twenty years earlier. He personally ensured that the plan received the approval, albeit lukewarm, of both the government and the East India Company.¹⁵

Draper was promoted Brigadier-General 'in the East Indies only' early in 1762 and despatched on a fast frigate to organise and assume command of an expedition against Manila to be mounted by the Royal and Company forces available in Madras. Uniquely it was agreed that without his presence there would be no expedition.¹⁶ Despite the misgivings of the Company's servants in Madras the expedition was organised swiftly, sailing on the six-week voyage to Manila under the joint command of Draper and Vice-Admiral Samuel Cornish.

The British arrived off Manila on September 25th, with the advantage of surprise before the news of the outbreak of the war had reached the Philippines. A landing was effected with great difficulty owing to the advanced season, but the combined forces maintained their momentum to such effect that the city and citadel of Manila were captured on October 6th with comparatively small losses on either side.¹⁷

In the immediate aftermath of the conquest Draper and Cornish ransomed the city against pillage for a million sterling. The reality - that there was much less plunder in Manila than the victors had expected -

resulted in the Governor of the Philippines, Archbishop Rojo, agreeing to draw bills for two million pesos on the Spanish Treasury in Madrid. The Manila ransom was disavowed as soon as it was received in Madrid, the Spanish Court choosing to regard the seizure of Manila more as an act of piracy than a legitimate conquest of war. It was to remain a subject for wrangling between the British and Spanish governments over the next decade.¹⁸

By the time Draper arrived back in England in April 1763 with news of the victory his achievement was already an embarrassment. Anson was dead, and Pitt had long resigned. The Treaty of Paris, ending the Seven Years War, had already been signed, and Manila was to be restored to Spain without any compensation. The distant victory and sacrifice was no longer a negotiating counter or even much cause for celebration.

Nevertheless, Draper was allowed to enjoy some of the fruits of his triumph while initiating efforts to persuade the government to press the claim for settlement of the ransom. He presented the Spanish colours captured at Manila to King's College, and he and Admiral Cornish were given the formal thanks of the House of Commons.¹⁹

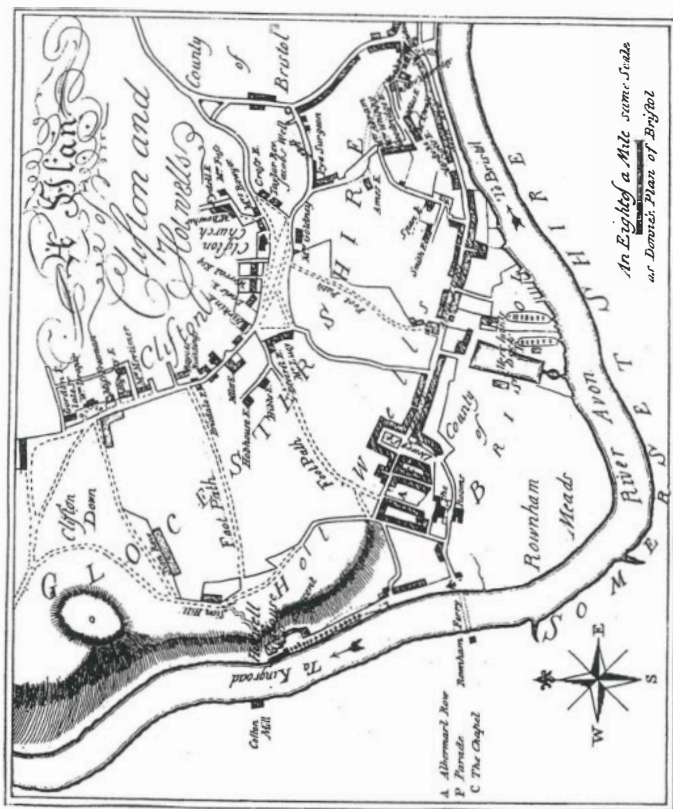
The sum of £5000 which he received from the East India Company as an initial tranche of the putative fortune of the victors (in fact it turned out to be all the prize money he ever received) allowed him to build a small mansion, named Manilla Hall, at Clifton in 1763 on land owned by the Society of Merchant Venturers.

Clifton was then still a tiny village with only a few residences on either side of the road which straggled up Clifton Hill. The elegant terraces which would transform Clifton into a small replica of Bath still lay in the future. Sir William's house, outbuildings and garden occupied a site of about four acres. The house was built in neo-classical style with four massive columns supporting its portico.

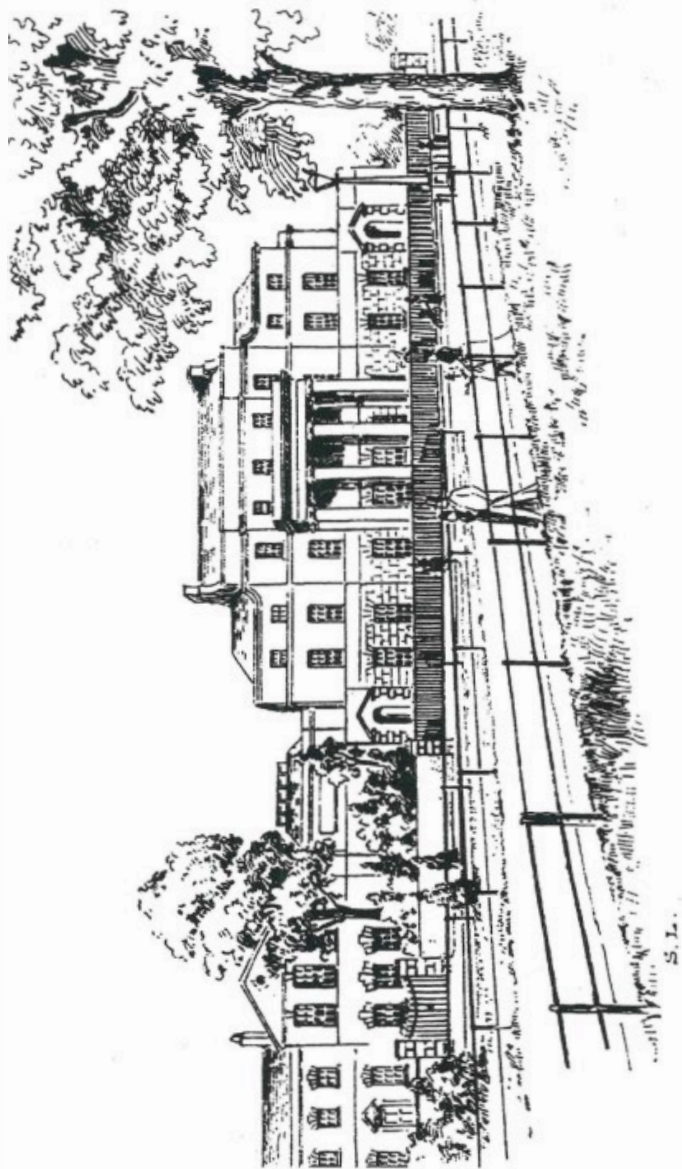
Nathaniel Wraxall, the diplomat-politician-adventurer who was a contemporary of Draper, and a Warden of the Society of Merchant Venturers at the time, commented in his 'Memoirs of My Time'²⁰

'Sir William's vanity which led him to call his house at Clifton near Bristol 'Manilla Hall' and there to erect a cenotaph to his fellow soldiers who fell before that city during the siege, exposed him to invidious comments. But Lord Amherst, in whom vanity was not a predominant passion, gave in like manner the name 'Montreal' to his seat in Kent ...'

Wraxall seems to have ignored the much more notable fact that nobody held it against the great Duke of Marlborough that he should have named his own seat after his greatest triumph at Blenheim. To name a house, or even a palace, in commemoration of a victory which had made it possible, seems to rank fairly low on the scale of personal vanity.



A Plan of Clifton and Howells, published August 11th 1787 by M.B. Hill.
The house of 'Wm. Draper' is shown near the top centre



Manilla Hall, Clifton, sketched in the late nineteenth century by S.J. Loxton.

The house was demolished early in the twentieth century, having been a school for many years

The cenotaph to which Wraxall refers was one of the pair of monuments which still stand on the Down. It was created in 1766 and stood in front of Manilla Hall as a tribute to the fighting record of Draper's Regiment, the 79th Foot, which had been disbanded at the end of the Seven Years War, like so many other regiments. It commemorates the 30 officers and 1000 men of the 79th who fell in the East Indies between 1758 and 1765. The roll of honour includes the major battles in India in which the regiment was involved as it helped to break finally the threat of French military superiority: Madras, Conjeveram, Wandewash and Pondicherry, as well as the expedition to Manila.

The last remnants of the 79th were still on their return journey from Manila months after the regiment had been disbanded, victims of all the inefficiencies of eighteenth century communications and the hazards of transportation over enormous distances. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* noted on 21st June 1766:²¹

'On Wednesday arrived at Chelsea [i.e. The Royal Hospital] the colours and remains of His Majesty's 79th Regiment under the command of Captain Thomas Backhouse, having been on board twenty-one months. They left Manila on 1 April 1764 and have buried near one half of the troops on that tedious voyage. They sailed last from Fort St George [Madras] on 20th October 1765. They are the last part of His Majesty's forces that have been employed in India.'

William Draper in the meantime had been pressing the government to pursue the case with the Spanish government for some resolution of the Manila ransom question, knowing that it would certainly represent the only possibility of any eventual financial reward for the soldiers and sailors who had given so much on the Manila expedition. But both he and Admiral Cornish, who felt equally the duty of trying to protect the interests of their serving men, were beginning to appreciate that the chances of the ransom ever being honoured were diminishing by the day.

At the end of 1764 Draper had published a booklet entitled *Col. Draper's Answer to the Spanish Arguments ... Refusing Payment of the Manila Ransom ...*,²² but this had achieved little more than setting out the justice of his case to the British public. The fact that he was a source of potential embarrassment to the government probably explains why he made no attempt to become a Member of Parliament, which then would have been easy enough for a nationally recognised figure.

Instead, he chose to spend the aftermath of his return from Manila at Clifton, catching up with the domestic life which he had previously missed on his service overseas. The building of Manilla Hall enabled him at last to provide his wife Caroline with a home appropriate to her own family background, and it was a source of constant dismay to them both that she never produced a child. It was also large enough for him to allow his mother Mary Draper to enjoy the last year of her life in



*The obelisk and cenotaph, originally in the garden of Manilla Hall,
now on Clifton Down*

considerable comfort. She died in Clifton in September 1764 and was buried in the churchyard of St Augustine-the-Less, alongside her husband Ingleby Draper who had predeceased her by more than 40 years.

Mary Draper missed by a few months the award of a Knighthood of the Bath to her son, which was gazetted in December 1765. Sir William, as he became, was referred to in a speech in January 1766 by William Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, as 'a gentleman whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of this country.'

His fellow citizens of Bristol also accorded him their available honours. On 7 June 1766 at a meeting of the City Council he was presented with the Freedom of the City; and in the same year he became an Honorary Member of the Society of Merchant Venturers on the same date as Chatham, the Duke of Grafton, and the Marquis of Rockingham. The Hall Book of the Society also noted in 1766 that 'In an attempt to preserve the Clifton Downs and to prevent nuisances the Hall gladly accepted the offer of Sir William Draper to act as Conservator of Clifton Down'. This post seems to have been more honorary than functional; and mostly consisted of keeping an eye open for unplanned development.

Sir William was also able to renew contacts with his two sisters who had continued to live in Bristol: Anne, the wife of Thomas Moore, the apothecary, who between them had produced a large family, many of whom had returned to India for further service with the East India Company; and Mary, who had first married a 'Mr Blair of the West Indies', presumably a plantation owner, by whom she had at least one son who became an Ensign in the 3rd Guards, and secondly a Mr Askew.²³

One of Anne's daughters Anna, had married a naval Captain, Richard Collins, who had commanded the ship *Weymouth* during the Manila expedition. During his return voyage he had inadvertently breached his sailing instructions which had resulted in his unfair dismissal from the Royal Navy. Sir William, his uncle, pleaded his case in a letter to Lord Chatham in August 1766, pointing out that 'In my last expedition he commanded the battalion of seamen on shore with much honour to himself and utility to the public service.'²⁴ Collins was restored to his rank in the following year, and Anna his wife appears to have lived at Manilla Hall as part of Sir William's family.

Sir William had also kept in close touch over the years with his friend Christopher Anstey who in 1766 had achieved literary celebrity as author of the *New Bath Guide*, a satirical insight into some of the more blatant follies of social life in the spa city. In 1767 Anstey had sent Sir William a gift of Cottenham cheeses from his home in Cambridgeshire, accompanied by a poem of tribute which alluded to the fact that Draper had been painted by Gainsborough and had a bust sculpted by the

renowned Joseph Wilton. In response Draper wrote from Manilla Hall on 9th January 1768, a long poem about his life of retirement and present circumstances. The accompanying letter, the only surviving personal letter from Sir William's extensive correspondence, gives an insight into the domestic life of a generous character:²⁵

'In return for your very kind present I send you some very bad ones. I had a mind to try, if, after 24 years interruption, I could again put my thoughts into metre; therefore you will wonder not so much at their mediocrity as that I could write at all, since which I have hammered out a few for your perusal. To atone for which I beg your acceptance of some claret, not to bribe your approbation but as a kind remembrance of my friendship towards you and yours; as I can assure you with much truth and sincerity there is no man living that I love and honour more than yourself.

Your poetical talents are now so much admired that besides my private satisfaction I have a public vanity in boasting that the author of the *New Bath Guide* is my particular friend; that he composed under my roof. Let me not despair of enjoying that happiness again, I do not request it immediately; the season makes it impossible; but the spring will return as usual then let me see you 'cum zephyris, si concedes, et hir undique prima'. Mrs Anstey is so interwoven with your happiness and so deservedly makes the chief part of it that to desire your company is to request hers of course. Caroline joins me in this request; her house is now very pretty but she cannot think it completely ornamented until you promise to grace it once again with your companies ... Adieu, your affectionate friend.'

Anstey and his family appear to have been regular visitors to Clifton; and as well as drafting the Latin inscription for Sir William's cenotaph to the 79th Regiment, he also helped in 1768 in drafting another piece of Latin for the obelisk dedicated to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

Draper's tribute to the great war leader was not mere flattery; it was recognition of the fact that Pitt had chosen him for his first major command in India and thereafter assisted him in his ascent up the military ladder. When Sir William envisaged the idea of the obelisk he wrote to Chatham seeking his permission for a lengthy dedication to be inscribed on it. Chatham who was then suffering from the long depression which made his second ministry of 1766-69 so uneven, replied through his equable wife Hesther Chatham:²⁶

'My Lord ... desires to say that he is most truly touched with the too favourable and partial sentiments of one who is himself so justly the admiration of his country and so distinguished an instrument of its glory. He begs to add, as nothing can or ought to make him so proud as the testimony of Sir William's private friendship that he hopes Sir William will give him leave earnestly to entreat that of an Inscription so infinitely partial the last four lines alone may remain ...'

Sir William yielded to Lord Chatham's pressing entreaty, and originally inscribed only the last four lines referring to his friendship with Pitt, though at the same time sending to Chatham, at his request, the full inscription. After both their deaths the full inscription was added to the monument, probably at the request of Anstey who outlived them both.

At the same time as Sir William was in correspondence with Chatham he was also engaged in more local matters. The parish church of St Andrew, Clifton, which was already centuries old, by 1767 was no longer capable of accommodating the increasing number of residents and visitors. It was decided that a south aisle should be added to the church, and construction began in the autumn of 1767. Although the addition only cost £414 the church was not reopened until October 1768. Fifteen persons, having subscribed £25 each towards the addition, were each allotted pews in perpetuity. Sir William, along with members of the Goldney, Elton and Hobhouse families, was among the contributors.

His life continued along this rather rustic pattern of semi-retirement until in 1769, through his own ill-judged initiative, he was suddenly drawn again to national attention by becoming involved as an adversary of the anonymous letter writer and satirist, Junius.

The Junius Letters, written under a pseudonym, were the work of a political insider intent on savaging the government of George III. The first of the Letters, which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* in January 1769, attacked all the senior members of the current ministry, starting with the Duke of Grafton. Among those mentioned, though in a minor place, was the popular Marquis of Granby, then Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Although the letter caused a sensation because of its well-informed malice, its impact was magnified when Sir William decided to reply in defence of Lord Granby.²⁷

This unsought intervention from a respected public figure turned out to be a disaster for Sir William. Junius, irritated by having to divert his energies from his main line of attack, proceeded, over an exchange of letters lasting sporadically through 1769, to demolish Sir William. With savage and brilliant invective he managed to cast doubts on the old soldier's honour and conduct, implying among other slurs that the award of his knighthood had finally stopped Sir William from pressing the government on the unresolved and now moribund issue of the Manila ransom. Sir William seemed to dig himself into a deeper hole with each successive attempt to rebut the slurs and clarify the situation. By the time the exchanges ended in October he must have bitterly regretted his first initiative.

His public humiliation probably contributed to the death of Caroline in the autumn of that year. She, whom he had described in his poem to Anstey as 'sweet spirit-lulling Caroline' had apparently never been very robust; and the shock of her husband's situation could have done nothing to improve her health. She had made her will in February 1769, with Anne Collins as one of her witnesses, and was buried in St Augustine-the-Less on August 19th, an additional note in the Register mentioning that she had come from Clifton churchyard.²⁸



The 'sweet, spirit-lulling Caroline', the Hon. Lady Draper, first wife of Sir William, who died at Clifton in 1769. She was the youngest daughter of Lord William Beauclerk, and great granddaughter of Charles II and Nell Gwynn. She married William Draper in 1756, and her portrait was painted by Thomas Gainsborough in the late 1760s, shortly before her early death. Private Collection/© By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London

Sir William, thus suddenly widowed as well as publicly embarrassed, was noted by the *Gentleman's Magazine* in October 1769 as 'contracted with Captain Muire of the *Brine* of Bristol for his passage to South Carolina. The recovery of his health is probably his only motive though his enemies have ascribed it to other views.' A visit to North America was then an acceptable form of absenting oneself for a time from the public scene.

Sir William arrived at Charleston, South Carolina by January 1770, and moved north from there to be in New York in the early spring. The Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America, General Thomas Gage, had been an Ensign in the 48th Foot during the same early years as Sir William, and would have welcomed him to New York. General Gage had married into one of the leading families in New York and through his contacts undoubtedly introduced Sir William to the de Lancey family, another of New York's powerful political clans.

In October of that year 1770 Sir William married Susannah de Lancey, one of the younger daughters of Oliver de Lancey who was to become the senior Loyalist commander in New York State during the War of Independence a few years later. Susannah was then in her twenties, and Sir William just reaching 50, but the disparity in their ages seems to have been no bar to their successful marriage.²⁹

Sir William and his bride returned to Clifton early in 1771, and in August of that year she gave birth to the first of their three daughters who seems to have survived only a short time. In 1773 she gave birth to another daughter, Anna Susannah Ethelreda; and in 1774 their third daughter, Phila Augusta, was baptised at St Andrew's, Clifton.³⁰

Sir William during that year, like so many of his military contemporaries always awaiting some full-time service, was obviously pressed for cash, as he appeared to be trying to sell Manilla Hall. It was advertised in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* from May until October 1773, as 'a large and elegant house and gardens ... at Clifton. The house is very well furnished, the gardens enriched with the finest fruit trees, a large hot house; There are two coachhouses with stabling for seven horses; the offices are very commodious and excellent cellars'. Despite the efforts of the *Journal* the house failed to find a buyer and the advertisement was withdrawn towards the end of the year.³¹

Financial pressures did not deter Sir William and Susannah from mixing their semi-retirement at Clifton with visits both to London and Bath. Sir William seems to have been a regular card player at Almack's, and his London club life led him to be asked in 1774 to chair a 'Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen' to revise the Laws of Cricket.³²

The Committee met at the renowned Star and Garter Tavern in Pall Mall in February of that year and wasted no time in producing laws which have formed the basis of the game ever since. It is arguable that Sir William's role as Chairman of the Committee had a lasting influence far beyond that of his military or literary endeavours.

In 1775 he became marginally involved in one of the more celebrated literary sensations of the decade through his Draper family connections. Eliza Draper, the estranged wife of his cousin Daniel, a senior servant of the East India Company in Bombay, had gained sudden literary notoriety through the publication of her exchange of letters with Laurence Sterne, the literary giant and author of *Tristram Shandy*. His *Letters from Yorick to Eliza* were inspired by a brief and platonic liaison following a meeting in 1767, and were published in 1775, some years after Sterne's death. In 1773 Eliza caused a sensation in the small world of Bombay by deserting her husband Daniel Draper and returning to England in 1774 to join their two surviving children. The further notoriety which followed the publication of forged letters, entitled *Letters from Eliza to Yorick* later in 1775, caused her to leave London and take refuge in Clifton.³³

Although there is a lack of conclusive evidence that she passed her last four years under the roof of Manilla Hall it seems almost certain that she did have the generous support of Sir William. Many years later her estranged husband, Daniel Draper, was still close enough to the family to be nominated a trustee of the will of Sir William's daughter Anna Susannah, and his willingness to fulfil that role suggests that he owed a debt of gratitude to his cousin, the general.

Eliza, 'the immortal Eliza' of Sterne's imagination, probably found life in Clifton quiet after her hectic previous years, but she had the satisfaction of bringing her surviving daughter Betsy to maturity and eventually to marriage. She maintained her literary contacts and was even in correspondence with public figures such as John Wilkes, the notorious radical politician.

During the years in which she was at Clifton, Sir William's primary concern would have been the outbreak of the American War of Independence, its immediate effect on the de Lancey family in New York, and the repercussions on Bristol as a trading city and as a refuge for many American Loyalists who had fled there from the conflict.

The de Lancey family mansion at Bloomingdale on Manhattan Island was burnt down by rebels in 1777, and as the war progressed the family's fortune declined. Sir William, married to a de Lancey daughter, probably realised that his chances of any command in America (for which he had been shortlisted) were reduced by being married to an

American, albeit from a Loyalist family. He was forced into the frustration of being a long-distance spectator of events which affected him profoundly and over which he had absolutely no influence.

The influx of American refugees into Bristol between 1775 and 1780 caused divisions of opinion and tensions within the commercial and political scene of the city. One strand of this complexity which directly concerned Sir William was that one of Bristol's Members of Parliament, Henry Cruger, was the New York-born brother of John Harris Cruger, who was married to another of Oliver de Lancey's daughters and commanded a battalion of Loyalist forces in New York throughout the war. This closeness of family ties between Sir William and Henry Cruger must have brought them into frequent contact in Bristol throughout the period, yet disappointingly there is no surviving documentation of this relationship.

Those years must have brought more disappointment to Sir William than any others in his life.

Eliza Draper died suddenly in August 1778, at the early age of 34. She was buried in Bristol Cathedral, and there is a fine monument to her in the cloisters. The monument is the work of John Bacon (1740 - 1779) who had recently executed the monument to the poet Thomas Gray in Westminster Abbey. It remains a mystery as to who paid for the monument.³⁴ It was hardly likely to have been Sir William. He, in the same month, had suffered the much greater personal loss of the death of his wife Susannah. If she and Eliza had both been living at Manilla Hall it is possible to conjecture that they were both carried off by the same illness. Apparently in the summer of 1778 there was the usual seasonal outbreak of typhoid fever in Bristol - and since neither Eliza nor Susannah left a will they were obviously given little warning of their imminent deaths. Both were still only in their mid-thirties.

Sir William was thus left with two young daughters, limited income, and finding himself bypassed by the younger generals who were being given command in America. His only prospect for a reasonable income lay in the limited possibility of further senior command. He must have been immensely relieved when in the following year he was offered, and accepted, the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca, in the Balearic Islands.³⁵

Minorca at that time had the same sort of strategic importance to Britain as Malta during the Second World War; its natural harbour made it the key to naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. Sir William's appointment also coincided with the impending further conflict with France and Spain, and he left for the island in the autumn of 1779.

During his absence Manilla Hall seems to have been either rented or cared for by his nearest neighbour, a Mr William Gordon, who

eventually bought it. The general's two daughters, Anna Susannah and Phila Augusta, probably moved to Bath during their father's absence, still under the care of their senior cousin Anna Collins, whose husband, the naval Captain Richard Collins, died there in 1780. The two girls were also helped by their great-uncle James Draper who in his will in 1781 left the bulk of his considerable estate 'to and for the maintenance and education and benefit of' the two young sisters.³⁶

Phila Augusta seems to have died sometime in 1782, leaving her sibling Anna as sole survivor and motherless with a father serving in distant parts. The dismays of eighteenth century life must have pressed heavily on the nine-year-old girl.

Sir William's tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca ended unfortunately. In August 1781 a French and Spanish force landed on the island and invested the stronghold of Fort St Philip in a prolonged siege. During the latter stages of the siege Draper was at odds with the Governor, another old warhorse, Lt.-Gen. the Hon. James Murray, on demarcations of their authority. Their dispute grew increasingly acrimonious and did nothing to strengthen the morale of the garrison. In January 1782 Sir William was deprived of his command by his senior.³⁷

The British garrison, ravaged by scurvy, capitulated in February, and Sir William was sent back to England as a prisoner of war *en parole*. During his journey across France he had a meeting in April 1782 with the French Foreign Minister, the Comte de Vergennes, on the possibility of initiating peace talks with Benjamin Franklin and the other American emissaries then in Paris.³⁸

On his return to England Sir William eventually insisted on preferring charges against General Murray at a Court Martial which lasted from November 1782 to February 1783. Murray was finally acquitted of almost all the charges, except the one which had triggered the final rupture between the two generals; and King George III expressed concern that 'an officer of Sir William Draper's rank and distinguished character should have allowed his judgement to be so perverted by any sense of personal grievance as to view the general conduct of his superior officer in an unfavourable light ...'³⁹

The Court Martial effectively terminated Sir William's active career as a soldier. Between 1783 and his death in 1787 he was apparently spending most of his time in Bath, in constant touch with various members of the government in the hope of either being given a more generous pension or some active posting. Writing to the Duke of Rutland, son of the Marquis of Granby whom he had so rashly defended against Junius fifteen years earlier, he described himself as 'confined to



A COURT MARTIAL - a cartoon by Gillray of the Scene at the Horseguards during the 1782/83 Court Martial. The cartoon conveys the informality of the trial at which all the senior officers would have known each other well. The Judge-Advocate-General, Sir Charles Gould, faces the spectators. Above Murray's head is inscribed Matrimony. Draper stands with both hands on the barrier with a composed expression. The figure inscribed Yankee Doodle was General Thomas Gage. The cartoon is consistent with newspaper comment at the time, which described Murray as 'very much broke', while Draper 'looked exceedingly well and in the flower of his age'; neither comment truly reflecting reality.

Courtesy of the British Museum

half-pay and oblivion, and seeking a recommendation for a pension on the Irish establishment on the ground of public service in planning and executing the expedition against the Philippine Islands.⁴⁰

As with so many other senior military figures of the time he was doomed to disappointment. He can at least have taken some consolation from the fact that his daughter Anna Susannah had been provided for from other sources. These might have included funds from Daniel Draper who by now had retired from the East India Company and had come back to England in time for the wedding of his daughter Betsy in 1784 to Thomas Nevill at St George's, Hanover Square.

Anna Susannah also probably benefited from the goodwill of her grandfather Oliver de Lancey who had come to live in exile in Beverley, Yorkshire after the end of the War of Independence. He died in 1785, much reduced in circumstances.

Sir William himself died in Bath in January 1787, 'sincerely lamented by all those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance'. A Bristol historian noted that he was buried in the churchyard of St Augustine-the-Less, presumably alongside the graves of his father, mother and first wife Caroline, though there is no record of such a burial in the Parish Registers. What is certain is that a wall tablet in his memory was placed in Bath Abbey, with a long inscription in Latin composed by his loyal friend Christopher Anstey.⁴¹

Among the tributes to Sir William was one in the Madras Courier mentioning that 'his only surviving child was zealous in rendering, by every tender office and mark of affection what the warmest filial affection could suggest, the evening of his life serene and pleasing ...'⁴²

Anna Susannah, then aged 14, was placed under the guardianship of no less a figure than Lord Duncannon, whose wife Lady Henrietta was the sister of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. The teenage girl thus found herself at the centre of Whig society in London, but her links with the West Country were not broken. In 1790 at the age of 17 she was married at St Marylebone, London, to John Gore, heir to Barrow Court, Somerset, a few miles south of Bristol. Among witnesses to her marriage were Oliver de Lancey, her mother's brother.⁴³

The young bride might have hoped for some relief from the sequence of losses she had already suffered in her short life, but was destined to be disappointed. John Gore died suddenly in 1792, only two years after his marriage. He was buried in the small church of Christon, on a plateau in the Mendips which now commands a view of the busy M5. On the wall of the church is a large memorial tablet to him, including the arms of the Gore and Draper families, placed there as a tribute by 'his disconsolate wife.'

Anna Susannah herself only survived him by a year and died at Hotwells, a childless widow aged 20, in 1793. In her will she directed 'that £6000 of her estate should be applied solely towards the payment of the debts contracted by my late father Sir William Draper.' This at least substantiates Sir William's repeated claims that his last years were passed in financial hardship.⁴⁴

Anna Gore's early death meant that Sir William had no direct line of descent and that his only tangible relics are the Gainsborough portrait which now hangs in the de Young Museum at Golden Gate in California, the tablet in Bath Abbey and the monuments on Clifton Down.

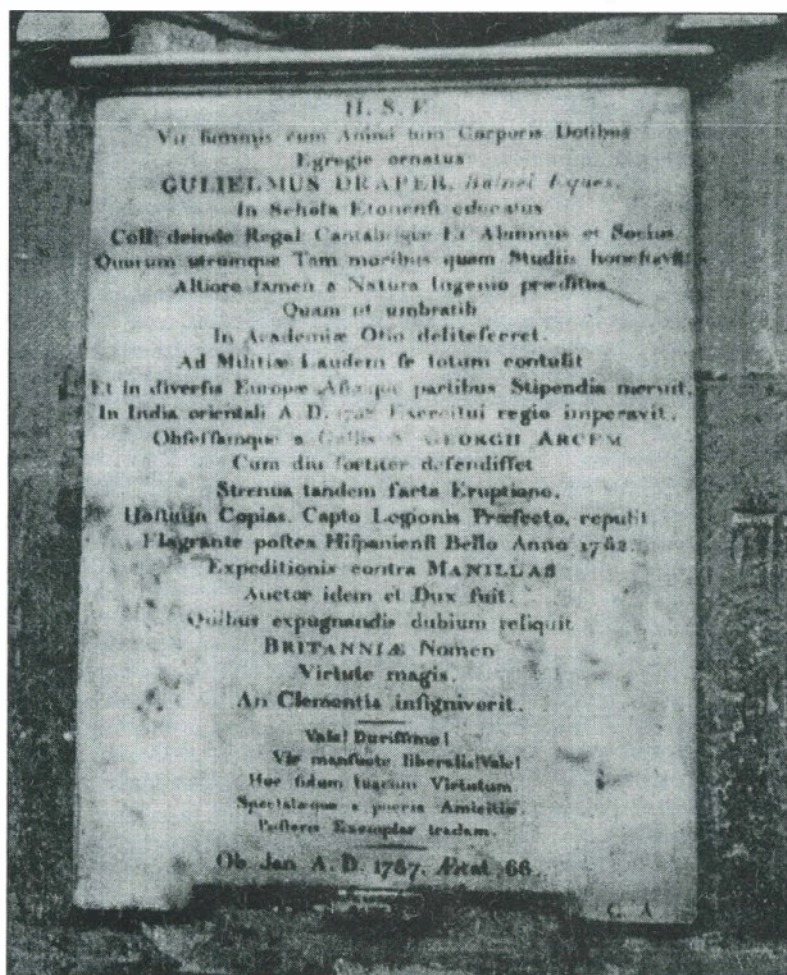
Manilla Hall went thereafter to the Miles family, pioneers of banking in Bristol. In 1892 Sir Joseph Weston, then Mayor of Bristol, bought the Hall and sold part of its acreage for building plots. The following year he sold the Hall itself to a French Roman Catholic sisterhood, the Dames de la Mère de Dieu, as a school, which it remained until it was demolished in the early years of this century. The nuns, perhaps disliking the idea that the monuments in the garden of Manilla Hall had been placed there to commemorate events in which the French were clearly losers, ordered their removal. They would have been lost forever had it not been for the efforts of a local antiquarian Dr John Beddoe, who organised a private subscription to save them.⁴⁵

Thus the cenotaph to the vanished 79th Regiment, and the obelisk to William Pitt, were re-erected on Clifton Down where they still stand today, ghosts of distant victories.

The latin inscription on Sir William's memorial tablet in Bath Abbey composed by his life-long friend, the poet Christopher Anstey, (facing page) describes him as a 'splendid man, gifted in mind and body' and pays tribute to his academic and military careers.

It mentions that at King's, Cambridge 'he distinguished himself as much by his manners as by his studies, but being more highly endowed by nature than to be a contemplative taking refuge in academic ease he dedicated himself to the military life'.

It closes by praising him as 'an energetic leader and a gently noble man'. Anstey ends with the words 'I entrust as an exemplar to posterity this testimony to your virtues and proven friendship from boyhood'.



The tablet to Sir William in Bath Abbey. The latin inscription was composed by his lifelong friend, the poet Christopher Anstey

Reference Notes and Sources

Abbreviations:

BRO: Bristol Record Office

BCL: Bristol Central Reference Library

BL: British Library, London

GL: Guildhall Library, London

HMC: Historic Manuscripts Commission

LL: London Library

OIOC: Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library

PRO: Public Record Office, Kew

WA: Westminster City Archives, London

1. Full accounts of William Draper's life as Squire of Beswick in Holderness are given in Captain Frank Reynard's *Hunting Notes from Holderness* (1914) and Hugh McCausland's *Old Sporting* (1948). On an income of £700 a year Squire Draper, who was born in 1670 and died in 1745, raised a family of ten, seven sons and three daughters. His youngest daughter, Diana, was herself a celebrated rider to hounds and whipper-in to her father's pack. She survived to 1772 and was apparently the model for Dorothy Vernon in Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*.
2. BRO: Customs House Officers' Affidavits 1702-1735; 'Ingleby Draper, Kingswayter (sic), sworn before Mr Mayor, Alderman Day, and Alderman Elton 29 Dec. 1715'.
3. BRO: Parish Register of St Augustine-the-Less. The church was almost adjacent to Bristol Cathedral and was demolished after being blitzed in the Second World War. Ingleby Draper's tombstone, and that of his wife Mary, had been recorded as far back as 1816 by a Bristol antiquarian when the inscriptions were already beginning to fade. (*Bristol Evening Post*, May 1935).
4. *History of Bristol Cathedral School*, E.T. Morgan, 1913.
5. OIOC: Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1729.
6. OIOC: Bombay Mayor's Court, 1736.
7. OIOC: Bombay Marriage Registers.
8. Christopher Morris, *King's College, A Short History*, 1989, p.28.
9. PRO: WO 25/21 Commission Book, March 1744: 'William Draper, gent, to be Ensign in Lord Henry Beauclerk's Regiment.'
10. PRO: WO/21 May 1746: 'William Draper, gent, to be Adjutant to our 1st Regiment of Foot Guards commanded by our Most Dearly Beloved son, William Augustus, Captain-General.'
11. H.T. Waghorn *Cricket Scores, Notes etc from 1730-1774, passim*. The match in June 1751, the first ever sequence of three one-day matches, was played at Newmarket. The players were dressed 'in the handsomest manner in silk jackets, trousers, velvet caps, etc. 'Tis said that near £20,000 is depending on this match.'
12. WA: Parish Registers of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Vol. 36. William Draper and Caroline Beauclerk were married by Special Licence, granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The wedding took place in the Charing Cross home of John Drummond, the banker, who was married to Caroline's sister Charlotte.
13. BL: *Town and Country Magazine*, July 1779. The article, under the title 'Memoirs of the Manilla Hero and Mrs P---s', gives a long account of Sir William's life and

- achievements, as well as alluding to his current liaison with a Mrs Potts. It states that he had a number of amorous conquests during his visits to Versailles, attended Madame de Pompadour's *petits soupers*, and was occasionally invited to join King Louis XV's hunting parties.
14. Draper's Regiment was originally designated as the 64th Foot, but redesignated as the 79th in June 1758, by which time it was in India. It was disbanded in Chatham in June 1763, after the Peace of Paris, before its remnants had finally returned from Manila. It had no connection with the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, which was raised as a revived 79th Foot later in the eighteenth century by Alan Cameron for the Irish Establishment, as the 79th (Highland Cameronian Volunteers Regiment of Foot).
 15. PRO: Draper's original memorandum to the Earl of Egremont, outlining the Manila expedition, in his own handwriting in the autumn of 1761, is PRO 30/47. The development of the plan, and the involvement of the Secret Committee of the East India Company, as well as Draper's detailed report of the expedition, are all in CO 77/20.
 16. BL: AMS 37836, fo. 217. East India Company to Fort St George 19 Feb 1762: '... We are now to observe that His Majesty's instructions and orders are delivered to and entrusted with Colonel Draper only, appointed a Brigadier on this occasion ... as the undertaking depends upon Brigadier Draper's arrival, and should he not get to India, duplicates would be of no use ...'
 17. OIOC: Voluminous correspondence in various classes of document, particularly Home Miscellaneous, including detailed accounts of the expedition and its aftermath. *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila* (Royal Historical Society, Camden Fourth Series, Vol. 8, 1971) gives edited extracts. *Manila Ransomed* (Nicholas Tracy, University of Exeter Press, 1995) provides excellent narrative coverage of the subject.
 18. PRO: SP 94/Vols. 165-181 are the State Papers covering the tortuous negotiations between the British and Spanish governments between 1763 and 1769 for settlement of the ransom issue. SP78/Vols. 273-278 cover subsequent French involvement. The papers make it evident that the Spanish never had any intention of honouring the distant and enforced commitment of Archbishop Rojo, Governor of the Philippines.
 19. BL: Journal of the House of Commons Vol. 29, 19 April 1763.
 20. BL: Nathaniel Wraxall *Memoirs of My Time*, 1884 ed.
 21. BCL: *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 21 June 1766.
 22. BL: The full title of this book is as follows: *Colonel Draper's answer to the Spanish arguments, claiming the galleon, and refusing payment for preserving Manila from Pillage and Destruction: in a letter addressed to the Earl of Halifax, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the southern department*, London, Nov. 1764. Readers in the eighteenth century had great patience.
 23. Confirmation of these family links is circumstantial; Draper's account in the Archives of Drummonds Bank, for example, showing frequent payments during the 1760s to Thomas Moore for his services as an apothecary.
 24. PRO: PRO 30/8/31 Draper to Chatham, Clifton, 23 August 1766.
 25. BL: *Poetical Works of Christopher Anstey*, John Anstey, 1807.
 26. BL: *Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham*, Countess of Chatham to Draper, Hayes, 16 June 1768.
 27. LL: *Public Advertiser*, Draper to Publisher, 27 January 1769.

28. BRO: Parish Registers of St Augustine-the-Less, 1769.
29. Parish Registers of Trinity Church, Wall Street, New York, 13 October 1770.
30. BRO: Parish Registers of St Andrew's Clifton, 1764.
31. BCL: *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, May to October 1774.
32. MCC Archives, Lords: *The Laws of Cricket, revised at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, 25 February 1774*. Other members of the Committee included cricketing enthusiasts such as the Duke of Dorset and the Earl of Tankerville.
33. The story of Sterne and 'Immortal Eliza' has generated prolonged interest and a number of books, among which are *Sterne's Eliza*, by A. Wright and W.L. Sclater (1923), and *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* by Wilbur J. Cross (1925).
34. The likely donor of the monument was her admirer the French cleric, Abbé Raynal, historian of the Indies, who made her acquaintance in Bombay and thereafter maintained a distant passion. He had unfulfilled hopes that she might go to live in France.
35. PRO: CO/174/12f 111. Commission to Sir William to be Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca, signed by Lord Weymouth. Sir William's appointment was made possible by the death of the absentee Governor, General Mostyn. He was succeeded by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Lt.-Gen. Hon. James Murray, which created a job vacancy filled by Sir William.
36. PRO: Prob 11 1781.
37. PRO: CO 174/14 *passim*: Exchange of letters between Sir William and Governor Murray during the siege of Fort St Philip. Whatever the merits of their increasingly testy arguments, they were both shamefully unable to show any spirit of conciliation towards each other; a dismaying example to their junior officers.
38. Archives: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. Correspondance Politique, sous-série Angleterre Vol. 536, 1782.
39. PRO: WO 71/100 The complete transcript of the court martial occupies a single volume of no less than 700 pages. The court martial aroused considerable public interest and comment, and Gillray produced a memorable cartoon entitled 'The Court Martial - or - a scene at the Horse Guards'. (BL: Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires; 6041).
40. HMC: Rutland Papers, Draper to Duke of Rutland, Brompton Row, 29 Nov 1784.
41. The tablet, with its long Latin inscription, is still in place in Bath Abbey. Anstey sent copies of his composition to around a dozen old acquaintances of Sir William's, including the Provost of Eton, and Provost of King's, Cambridge (Bodleian: 25428 Montagu.d.2.6. f.152).
42. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 69, 1799.
43. GL: Parish Registers of St Marylebone Church, London, 19 March 1790.
44. PRO: Prob 11/365 Will of Anna Susannah Ethelreda Gore, 1793. Maddeningly, one of the provisions of her will, which appointed Anna Collins, her senior cousin, as sole executor, was the instruction to destroy all her personal papers, which probably included much of her father's correspondence.
45. *History of Clifton*, Donald Jones, 1992, p.138.

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